

PEACE NEWS

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FOURPENCE

"The Atom-bomb is the ultimate expression of cowardice": war no longer alternative to peace

Reginald Thompson, author of "Cru Korea" and former Daily Telegraph War Correspondent, not a pacifist, in this article declares his "conscientious objection to the mass annihilation of defenceless people." He says that the alternatives that confront us are

CATASTROPHE — OR PEACE

THERE is only one problem today of overwhelming urgency and importance in the affairs of men. Upon its resolution hangs the survival of our civilisation. It is the question of peace.

There used to be an alternative to peace called war. It was, in many ways, an undesirable alternative but from it sprang good as well as evil, and by its potency many political problems were solved. Those days are done. War has become obsolete. It will never happen again.

The horror that overhangs our civilisation is that peace has become—or will become—obsolete also.

Let there be no mistake: let there be no illusion: the atomic bomb even without the Hydrogen bomb, upon the production of which the energies and resources of a great industrial nation are feverishly engaged, has put an end to war. Long range massacre, probably without warning, and probably anonymous, is in its place. The strategy of the West since 1945 has been

century, and it is calculated that for each child saved by modern hygiene and medical care, twenty adults are slaughtered by modern methods.

My attitude to this has put me outside the pale of what is called civilisation. Nearly all those with whom I was brought up, nearly all those with whom I loved to play and talk, nearly all Christians—newspaper men, bank managers, bus conductors, even many soldiers, believe apparently in the crime of genocide. Curiously they do not seem to believe in bacteriological warfare, and become quite indignant about it. It is quite right to shrivel people (especially coloured people) with napalm; quite right to destroy tens of thousands with atom bombs; quite right to work with desperate urgency to make practical the conversion of huge tracks of the world to an uninhabitable radio-active waste. Quite wrong to spread germs. Quite right, however to work hard on the means of spreading germs.

Lewis Mumford sums up

In these last months I have read the works of many scientists, medical men, scholars, and philosophers on these matters. I think that the American philosopher, Lewis Mumford, sums up the consensus of educated world opinion when he concludes that we are ruled by "moral imbeciles and psychotics." Here is a relevant passage from the third volume of his trilogy, "Western civilisation has now plainly come to a point where all the processes of disintegration and barbarism . . . are fully in view: the faceless and heartless man, the gangster, the connoisseur of violence who has devaluated everything about life except the instruments for defacing it, the inventors of the extermination camp, the agents and potential practitioners of random violence who devise H bombs and biological instruments of genocide: all these are not merely in our midst but they include supposedly honourable and intelligent members of our society: the final proof of our extreme debasement. The processes of negation they have set in motion threaten to bring ruin to our civilisation. . . ."

These conclusions seem inescapable to me, and I cannot escape from them waking or sleeping. I do not know how people like the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury reconcile genocide with Christianity. I know that most of the victims are coloured Asiatics just now, but Christ and the Virgin Mary were coloured too. So then even if all that Christ said is discounted, how do they discount the colour of his skin, and make Him "save" white men only? I don't know the answer to these simple questions.

But I do know that the peace we seek cannot be purchased with atom bombs or by any means of indiscriminate mass massacre. I do know that peace cannot be built upon fear and hatred. Day after day by our actions, by our wanton destruction of Korea and its people from the air, we are burning down the last remaining bridge of hope between East and West, and we are smearing and degrading our whole story. Day after day by our deeds we are hastening the hour of annihilation, and the suicide of civilisation.

It is time—God knows it is past time—to call a halt. The original rights and wrongs in Korea are already submerged in a maze of bestiality and horror, unmatched, I believe in all the human story.

The only answer must be the voice of civilisation arising from each individual human throat. Then and only then may this monstrous threat be lifted from our civilisation. The ultimate outrage must not be. It is now—or never.

Perhaps we are not all "moral imbeciles," but only moral cowards. Let us then find our courage, and find it fast.

By Reginald Thompson

based upon atomic weapons. Atomic weapons mean catastrophe, especially for this island. Each individual must face the atomic bomb, and all that it means.

Communications between Nations have largely broken down. The barrier of alien ideas expressed in alien tongues has grown to monstrous proportions. Words have become meaningless beyond narrow boundaries. The only hope of peace lies with the people; with us; with each one and all of us.

Massacre of the defenceless

I confess that the prospect is bleak, for it seems that nothing short of catastrophe will arouse the people from the apathy and despair in which they are sunk. And then it will be too late.

It is now nearly two years since I developed, with the speed of a revelation that could not be denied, a conscientious objection to the mass annihilation of defenceless people, and even to wholesale slaughter without military necessity. In the midst of the degrading humiliation of the flight of the United States forces from the Chongchon river in 1950, when it seemed that the atomic bomb was to be unleashed once more, I knew that this way out was not for me. At last the reality of the development of war to mass annihilation of the defenceless had been brought home to me. Civilians, at first included, had become the target.

The foul face of the Twentieth Century is ravaged with the pock marks and craters of hideous crimes. If these crimes had not passed me by, they had failed also to awaken me. I knew of the monstrous bombing of Nanking by the Japanese. I knew of the mustard gas used against the Abyssinians. I knew of the massacre of tens of thousands of the defenceless in the last days of World War II. I knew about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And, of course, I knew about the gas chambers and had seen tens of thousands of my fellow men degraded below the level of beasts.

But to know was not enough. I had walked knee deep in death and destruction for years, but in Korea for the first time I knew at first hand the shame and utter horror of the indiscriminate massacre of the defenceless, unable to hit back. I had never experienced this before. I knew at first hand the craven degradation and cowardice of the atom mind.

Christians accept genocide

I wrote in my diary: "The atom bomb is the ultimate expression of cowardice; the ultimate affront to human dignity. And it is the denial of God. . . . How can one imagine a man, or a body of men, so lacking in humility, that they should dare to sit in conclave to pronounce utter destruction on countless thousands of their fellow men?"

And from that day a new world of loneliness and personal conflict opened out ahead of me. I am no pacifist. I will fight for my home at the frontiers of my country with personal weapons. But I will not purchase life at the price of the mass annihilation of innocent people. Already it is estimated that the crime of genocide has accounted for 50 million people in this

SOUTH AFRICA:

Task of the resistance

By O. CALDECOTT

THE passive resistance movement in South Africa has continued during the past week with undiminished intensity. The Manchester Guardian reported on Tuesday, 19th August, that at many centres of the Union the campaign was increasing—on Monday 205 Africans were arrested in Port Elizabeth, 89 in Johannesburg and 87 in Grahamstown.

Reports received indicate that the campaign is expected to start soon in Durban and that plans are well advanced for a powerful drive there. Recruiting is also proceeding in Cape Town where a meeting in support of the campaign was held in the Municipal banqueting hall earlier this month. Two of the speakers, Sam Kahn and Johnson Ngwevela, both of whom are banned under the Suppression of Communism Act from attending political gatherings, delivered their addresses in absentia: they recorded them on tape and their words were broadcast over the loud-speaker system.

The united party attitude

Meanwhile, the leader of the Opposition, J. G. N. Strauss, MP, has made clear the attitude of the United Party to the resistance campaign. In a speech on August 22 he said (according to the Manchester Guardian) that the campaign was neither in the interests of the non-Europeans nor the country as a whole. This speech and others that have preceded it in recent months have shattered the last few remaining hopes that the country can expect fundamental changes if the Government loses the next election.

It is important to understand that, as The Times put it last week, "the laws preserving social segregation between the black and white races were not introduced by the Nationalists but are regarded by both parties as necessary to preserve white civilisation in South Africa."

This unanimity of white opinion on the "preserving of white civilisation" means that the passive resistance campaign of the African people cannot hope in the immediate future to achieve its nominal objectives. It can hope, however, for certain other important results. It can do much to train the younger leadership of the Africans in the method of non-violent resistance and it may serve to bring closer together those many mutually-suspicious factions in the non-white community whose antagonisms serve only to strengthen the hand of the government. Equally important, the campaign is attracting the sympathy of the democratic elements in many countries to whom is being demonstrated the strong moral case on which the resistance movement has taken its stand.

It is also to be hoped that the African and other non-European peoples will in the future come to regard non-violence not only as a superior tactic but also as superior in principle to any other method of struggle.

Friends receive reply from Peking

THE following cable has been received at Friends House, London, from Peking, in reply to the appeal for a new initiative to end the war in Korea which was cabled by the Friends' World Conference to the Foreign Ministers of China, the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, and other statesmen:

"Cable August 6 to Minister Chou en-Lai received. Glad to learn desire for peace expressed by World Conference of Friends (Quakers). Chinese people stand firmly for and strive after Korean armistice agreement and peaceful settlement of Korean question on just and reasonable basis, and welcome all sincere efforts made in this connection."

The cable was signed by Chang Han-Fu, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Central Peoples' Government of the Peoples' Republic of China.

Love and the poets

WHEN the Reverend Richard Baxter, a puritan Churchman of the Cromwellian and Restoration period was rebuked for intolerance and reminded that want of religious toleration had been his own capital grievance, he replied:

"Oh, but the cases are very different. I was in the right; whereas those who will benefit by this new fangled toleration are shockingly in the wrong."

Richard Baxter's views on liberty and toleration have a great deal in common with the views of the Communists on the same subject today.

I am reminded of the incident, recounted by De Quincey, on reading the account given by Douglas Young, the Scottish author, in Forward, of a talk he and his colleagues had with a group of socialist writers during their visit to Russia last month in association with the Authors' World Peace Appeal.

Doing this, Mr. Young is careful not to comment but to let the conversation speak for itself, and it is very eloquent. It should help us to understand that in our approach to Russia we have to take account of a very different attitude of mind, and a different set of values from our own. Probably if we could today have a better and more sympathetic understanding of the Puritans of the English Commonwealth period we should be in a better position to understand the outlook of the patriotic Russian today.

Outside discussion

Mr. Young asked why it was felt necessary to prevent Russian wives of British subjects from joining their husbands. A good part of the response he evoked was of the *tu quoque* order and involved some singular stories; for instance, that 4,500 English girls had married American Negro soldiers and had been prevented by the U.S. government from joining their husbands.

The novelist Boris Polevoi, who is a deputy with a seat in the Supreme Soviet opened his remarks with the dictum: "A law of state ought not to be discussed."

The general attitude of these writers to this question seemed to be summed up by the poetess Galina Nikolayeva, however, whose comment Mr. Young records:

"There is no love like that seen in the Soviet wives during the patriotic war and the reconstruction. She just could not understand a Russian wife abandoning her socialist Fatherland for a foreign husband; it must be a mistake of youth and inexperience, or else she could not be worthy of esteem."

Another poet, Samuel Marshak, remarked that the separation of 55 couples was a small matter in the upheavals of war. "Only warriors of ideas can speak of love."

Towards tolerance

The Russian Communists have a great deal in common with the English puritans—and with those who persecuted the English puritans. It is unlikely that delegations of the AWP type of group can bring us to an understanding of their point of view; but the contacts they make are well worth while if they help us to understand that what we have to deal with is a different outlook on life from our own. A recognition that this difference is there can increase the possibility of peaceful co-existence.

A world in which the values which support peace prevail will be a tolerant world. We have far to go to the attainment of these values, however, and in the transition we need to be able to achieve a certain tolerance toward intolerance. "Orthodox Christians," said John Stuart Mill, "who are tempted to think that those who stoned to death the first martyrs must have been worse men than they themselves, ought to remember that one of those persecutors was St. Paul." J.J.

Colorado, USA, which has two pacifist groups (at Denver and Colorado Springs) may be the centre for a Fellowship of Reconciliation Conference in October. Proposed conference leaders are K. K. Chandy, a Christian pacifist and acquaintance of Gandhi from India, and Emmanuele Mayr of Vienna, daughter of a leading Roman Catholic pacifist in Central Europe.

PEACE NEWS

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BEHIND THE AFRICAN STRUGGLE

IT is hard for people living outside South Africa to understand the crude reasonings of Dr. Malan and his nationalist party. They really believe that their mission in the world is to save white civilisation. The arguments Dr. Malan used in a debate in the South African Assembly last March on the question of Central African Federation keep coming back to this:

"We must maintain good understanding with the two Rhodesias . . . We must stand together for the security of the Western European Civilisation." Again, "we have a duty, and our future depends on it,—to maintain Western European Christian civilisation in the Union."

He attacked the British government who had given power to the peoples of the Gold Coast without consideration of the "circumstances or the degree of civilisation there."

The step taken in the Gold Coast was a disastrous one as far as Africa and the Union were concerned. Already the repercussions had been felt. The natives of Northern Rhodesia had refused to have anything to do with federation unless there was a constitution exactly the same as that of the Gold Coast. And then, for conclusion, the refrain "We must live in friendship with the two Rhodesias. We must stand together for the maintenance of Western European Christian civilisation."

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With this in mind one can understand Dr. Malan's reasoning with the African National Congress when they wrote to tell him the decision of the 39th Annual Conference, that unless all discriminatory legislation against non-Europeans were repealed by February 29th steps would be taken for concerted action. Dr. Malan through his secretary gave a long and considered reply. He made three points:

1. "You will realise, I think, that these differences (between the Bantu and the Europeans) are permanent and not man-made."

2. "You demand that the Union should no longer remain a state controlled by the Europeans . . . Racial harmony cannot be attained in that manner. Compliance with such demands inevitably lead to disaster for all population groups."

3. "Your third point is that the differentiating laws are of an oppressive and degrading nature. This again is a totally incorrect statement."

To this Dr. J. S. Moroka, Chairman of the African National Congress, has replied. "The question at issue," he wrote, "is not one of biological differences, but one of citizenship rights which are granted in full measure to one section of the population and completely denied to the other by means of man-made laws artificially imposed, not to preserve the identity of Europeans as a separate community but to perpetuate the systematic exploitation of the African people . . ."

"With reference to the Campaign of mass action which the African National Congress intends to launch, we would point out that as a defenceless and voteless people, we have explored other channels without success."

"The African people are left with no alternative but to embark upon the Campaign. We desire to state emphatically that it is our intention to conduct this campaign in a peaceful manner, and that any disturbances, if they should occur, will not be of our making. In reiterating our claim for direct representation we desire to place on record our firm determination to redouble our efforts for the attainment of full citizenship rights."

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Here then are the arguments for and against the present Passive Resistance campaign in South Africa, used by the two leaders. Malan wants to save white civilisation; Moroka argues for civilisation unqualified. Albert Schweitzer, another Doctor, influenced by his life in Africa, speaks of qualified civilisation as not being civilisation at all. Devotion to a qualified partial civilisation can quickly lead to tyranny and barbarism, and it is not surprising that Dr. Moroka is now on trial having been arrested at Thabanchu while attending patients in his surgery. The Times report says that "escorted to Thabanchu police station, where his finger prints were taken, he was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. There has been no disturbance at Thabanchu as a result of the arrest. Dr. Moroka said that he wanted the African people to know of his arrest. He asks them to remain calm and to behave with dignity."

On the same day that Dr. Moroka was arrested two native medical students at Witwatersrand University were also arrested. One was an executive member of

Cart before horse

THE Soviet proposal that a conference of the four powers (with representatives of the West and East German governments called in for consultation) should be held not later than October is marred by their insistence on their order for subjects to be discussed.

We believe that Russia is wrong from every point of view in insisting that the proposals for a peace treaty with Germany should come first, to be followed by discussions on an all-German government, leaving until last the vital question of free elections. This is putting the cart before the horse.

Only when there is agreement about the conditions for holding free elections will it be possible to secure an all-German government: only when there is an all-German government will there be an authority with whom a peace treaty can be concluded. The Western powers have always made it clear that they regarded the question of free elections as vital, and this attempt on the part of Russia to delay discussion on the conditions which will secure free elections throughout Germany will be taken by Western propagandists as a further indication of Russian hypocrisy and of a desire to dodge the real issue.

We can see no reason for the Russian insistence on their order unless they hope to secure agreement on the terms of a peace treaty and the withdrawal of all occupying forces. In view of the intense desire for a united Germany under a central German government, they might hope that this would so strengthen the appeal to West Germany that they would be ready to be less insistent on the conditions for free elections and take a risk.

There has been no desire to confine the discussions to the question of elections and indeed it would be absurd to do so, for the elections are of chief interest in making possible a peace treaty with a central German government. We hope that the Western powers will not use the Soviet reply as a justification for calling off the conference and going ahead with their plans to rearm Western Germany and integrate her into the Western system of defence. That way is a further step on the road to war. Rather we hope that for the sake of peace in Europe the West will be willing to suggest some compromise which might, for example, ensure that a full commission should immediately tackle the question of the conditions necessary for free elections, and should if necessary sit simultaneously with and report to the other conference discussing the other two major issues, in the meanwhile.

A £55,000,000 cheque for Alfred Krupp?

ALFRED KRUPP, who was released from Landsberg Prison last year, after serving six years of a twelve year sentence for using slave labour during the war, has evidently worked his passage home. The "unspeakable" horrors of his Nuremberg indictment are apparently forgotten if not forgiven.

The Allied High Commission is understood to have presented proposals to the Federal German Government under which Herr Krupp will receive £30m as compensation for his holdings in steel and coal. Further, his other properties, estimated at some £25m, would be returned to him later. It is expected that the Western German Government will agree to the proposals, which have been drawn up in consultation with Herr Krupp's U.S. lawyers.

Under Allied Law 27 he may not control coal or steel assets, but he may hold as many non-voting shares as he wishes in the new firms into which the former Krupps' empire has been divided. It would be naive to believe that immense shareholding can be simply an agreeable financial arrangement, utterly divorced from political and industrial power.

The German people—not to mention the average Z reservist—would have every right to feel cynical at this latest Allied surrender to one of the principal German industrialists who cleared the path for Hitler's rise to power and who found War so extremely profitable. Why should Moscow bother to invent lies, when truths of this kind are stronger than fiction and even better propaganda?

Dr. Hardach, a director of the Krupp company, recently told foreign students at

the Youth League of the African National Congress.

In a speech at the opening of the campaign Dr. Moroka said: "I hope that my people will enter into the struggle with faith and determination, but that they will act in such a way as to give the Europeans, and particularly the police, no opportunity to use arms. I hope that the police will not do anything to provoke trouble and will merely keep order, because our people are going to submit to anything that will be done to them without retaliation."

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To Dr. Moroka, to these young medical students, to the two or three thousand African men and women who have already been the forerunners of this campaign for freedom, and to all the volunteers who are to be called on later to witness publicly to their faith, we send our greetings and encouragement.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Bonn University that since a number of Krupp's directors had been imprisoned for making armaments the new group of firms had decided only to manufacture civilian goods. But the NATO powers are disturbed by the change of heart on the part of Krupp's, for German industry is doing too well in supplying the world's export markets. If the German industrialists do not soon switch to armaments they may find themselves in trouble once again.

After all Krupps have not always served the Nazis. As far back as the Boer War, although German sympathies were with the Boers, Krupps furnished great quantities of arms and munitions for use by Great Britain against the Boers. They have thus been capable of a genuine internationalism superior to mere moral prejudice.

Arms and the Export Markets

THOUGH by no means the only vast maker of the weapons of war (and indeed linked in with the ring of international armament makers) Krupps symbolised the whole of the bloody traffic which makes profits out of the greatest woe of the world.

The 12-year sentence of imprisonment on Alfred Krupp in 1945, if it meant

LYNMOUTH & THE GERMAN VALLEYS

YOUR comparison of benevolence in Lynmouth with callousness towards Korea is timely indeed, but there is an even more appropriate parallel which so far I have not seen drawn in any newspaper.

How many of the kindly people who hurried to Devon to aid the victims—WVS workers, St. John Ambulance men, RSPCA officials, even the Minister of Housing himself—ever reflected that nine years ago we as a nation inflicted the same tragedy of loss and devastation upon the families of another area, the German valleys below the level of the Eder and Mohne dams? Instead of supplying toys and rescuing lost animals, we exuberantly destroyed the homes which held the toys, and drowned the pets with the children who treasured them.

"What strikes me as odd," a Lynmouth survivor remarked to the Observer's correspondent, "is that it takes a disaster to make people behave like this." Odder still is the inability of war-bemused human imagination to visualise and prevent disaster deliberately inflicted upon the innocent households of a neighbouring people temporarily and absurdly treated as sub-human monsters in the meretricious excitement of a political quarrel. It is the more extraordinary because the Lynmouth floods and other comparable catastrophes always show that helpfulness and sympathy are the normal response of decent human nature, which if left to itself is far readier to create or reconstruct than to destroy.

VERA BRITAIN.

anything at all, expressed a judgment on those who enable death to pay so huge a dividend. Alfred Krupp shares, although "non-voting," are saleable. Such shares will become voting shares should Krupp decide to sell them, and there seems nothing to prevent his nominally disposing of them to deputies and thus maintaining a hidden control.

This is certainly not the complete disarmament of Germany guaranteed by the Potsdam and Cairo agreements, and apart from the personal problem of Alfred Krupp, it is a most sinister aspect of the whole plan to rearm Western Germany.

The justification that the firm's output is to be directed to making arms lest it should swamp our export markets if directed to the production of consumer goods argues an appalling lack of responsibility as does the argument that competition from a Germany not burdened with a "defence" programme is a valid reason for German rearmament.

The answer lies in the opposite direction. The peaceful solution of the German problem requires the establishment of a neutral and disarmed Germany on the understanding that her disarmament will be followed by the other powers. But because we have no right to use disarmament for the purpose of securing a better standard of living for ourselves regardless of the millions who are living below the poverty line, what can be saved by disarming must be directed towards adequate provision for mutual aid and world development. Germany could then reasonably be asked to pay into an International Fund for Mutual Aid the equivalent of

what she would save on armaments expenditure on the understanding again that the other nations would do the same as soon as possible.

Communists in Conference

THE Nineteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to open in October for the purpose of reviewing the organisation of the Party and the programme for the second five-year plan. It is proposed to substitute for the Politburo (the 13 men responsible for policy) and the Orgburo (the 5 men responsible for administration) a single Praesidium, whose size has not yet been disclosed.

This may be Stalin's way of preparing for the emergency which his death would undoubtedly create and of establishing the position of the deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Malenkov. The plans imply a new period of austerity and a return to a stricter party discipline. The second five year plan provides for an increase of 70 per cent in total industrial production in the period 1951-55: for the doubling of power-house capacity; the trebling of hydro-electric capacity; a big increase in steel production and shipping tonnage; a speed-up in agricultural production; more and better goods at lower prices and considerably better hospital and medical services.

Whether such a programme can be fulfilled by the USSR in isolation or not, it is probably no mere coincidence that a large and varied Chinese mission is now in Moscow. But what about trade relations between the East and the West? If it is really the desire of the Soviet Union to encourage East-West trade it is difficult to understand their failure to reply to the invitation of UNESCO to a conference which has had to be abandoned as a result. The USSR can hardly believe that the recent Moscow conference was such a success that the larger and more official conference was not necessary. It looks more as if what was achieved at Moscow or the attitude of the Western Governments to that conference did not encourage them to expect anything worth while from a larger conference not of their planning. We regret the decision of the Soviet Government because we believe that the restoration of full trade between East and West is not only of vital importance to both but is also an essential part of constructive peace-making.

Doctor Kurt Schumacher

BROKEN in health as the result of his experiences in the first world war and in Nazi concentration camps, Kurt Schumacher has died at the age of 57 at a moment when the forces of democracy in Germany could ill afford to lose so virile and courageous a leader.

Unfortunately since the stroke which partly paralysed him on Christmas Eve he has not been able to take his place in the Bonn Parliament, but he has remained very active behind the scenes and had just completed his draft programme for the forthcoming conference of the Social Democratic Party. Schumacher was a vigorous opponent of a bi-partisan foreign policy but equally alive to the dangers inherent in the aims and methods of the Communists. His main political aim was the achievement of a united Germany, and he was an uncompromising opponent of Dr. Adenauer because he felt that many of the policies of the Christian Democrats, and not least the Contractual Agreement, were not in the best interests of the unification of Germany. His last message to the German people, and to the world, emphasises the fact that the reunification of Germany is a far more vital and pressing need than the integration of a part of Germany into Western Europe.

The problem of finding his successor is not going to be easy, though the obvious choice is his right hand man Herr Ollenhauer. Those of us who have seen the dangers of a bi-partisan foreign policy here will hope that the Social Democrats will not accept any coalition with the CP Party but will continue to provide an effective opposition with a constructive alternative policy able to challenge Adenauer at the next election, and that they will not water down their slogan "German Unity and no ties with East or West."

Pot and Kettle

THE transference of the venue of the armistice talks in Korea from a tent to a more permanent building constructed by the N. Koreans seems to indicate that in their view the deadlock is not likely to be resolved quickly. Even so this seems to be a better way of expressing their attitude than that of the Americans who are continuing their bombing raids with undiminished vigour with the intention of forcing their view on the other negotiators.

No amount of warning to civilians that the claim that napalm is only a form of fire and that fire has been used as a weapon since biblical days, can justify this method of mass destruction. The assertion by General Harrison, the chief UN delegate at Panmunjom, that it must never be forgotten that in dealing with a Communist you were always dealing with a common criminal savours of the pot calling the kettle black.

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The modern soldier

does not fight, he is "fought"



THE number of men who have changed sides in the Korean war after being made prisoners is doubtless greater because the war is essentially a civil war, but this is a development of modern warfare that is not peculiar to civil conflict.

A recent issue of *Manas*, a journal published in Los Angeles, remarks that there are many stories of men during World War II who were separated from their homes and families in different regions of Central Europe and carried away to fight for either the Germans or the Russians, whichever had been able to bring them under their control.

"We happen to know of one instance," says *Manas*, wherein brothers seized at different times, were fighting on opposite sides of World War I. These brothers had no control over their fate, indicated no preference, and had no interest, either personal or social, in fighting for either side. But they were "fought" in the same way that a captured boat may be immediately put to use against its builders."

An article from the *Readers' Digest* is quoted which records the activities of Italian "human torpedoes" in the war:

"Riding a strange submersible craft in two-man teams, the daredevil Italian divers penetrated the defences of Gibraltar, fastened timed torpedo warheads to the keels of Allied vessels, and risked the harbour's submarines once again in thrilling escapes.

"One of the ships put out of action by these tactics was commanded by Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Morgan, of the British Navy. In 1944, after the Italian armistice, the same Italians—just as courageously—operated against German shipping for the Allies, and sank a cruiser and a submarine. In March of 1945, Admiral Morgan pinned a medal upon the breast of the man who had ruined his ship a few years before."

These are two out of scores of instances which show how war has become so de-personalised as to raise doubt whether any soldier today can claim to be fighting to defend a way of life that exists to maintain the rights of the individual.

Prisoners or Allies?

The following illustration of the same tendency comes from an article by Dwight Macdonald in *Politics*.

"With their customary thoroughness, the Germans carried what might be called 'collective irresponsibility' to its logical extreme. To cope with the Anglo-American armies poured into France after D-day, they impressed great numbers of Poles, Russians, Frenchmen, Italians, Czechs, Georgians, Mongolians—most of them war prisoners given a choice between starvation and service in the Reichswehr.

"In some German regiments, the colonel needed an interpreter to make his commands understood. Even crack SS divisions were filled out with these foreign conscripts, all of whom, even the

Mongolians, were officially listed as 'Volksdeutsche.'

"The Allies in France found themselves confronted by a veritable International in Reichswehr uniforms. Many of these 'Volksdeutsche' shot their officers and came over to the Allied side at the first chance, giving our High Command a typical modern problem.

"Were they allies? (But they wore the German uniform.) Or were they prisoners? (But they hated the uniform they wore.)

"All that could be said with certainty is that they were fought on the German side. The passive verb is intentional: the modern soldier does not 'fight'; he is 'fought,' like a battleship or other inanimate mechanism."

The Travelled Tibetans

The late George Orwell had the following account in the *Tribune* during the war:

"Among the German prisoners captured in France there are a certain number of Russians. Some time back two were captured who did not speak Russian or any other language that was known either to their captors or their fellow-prisoners. They could, in fact, only converse with one another. A professor of Slavonic languages, brought down from Oxford, could make nothing of what they were saying. Then it happened that a sergeant who had served on the frontiers of India overheard them talking and recognised their language, which he was able to speak a little. It was Tibetan! After some questioning he managed to get their story out of them.

"Some years earlier they had strayed over the frontier into the Soviet Union and been conscripted into a labour battalion, afterwards being sent to western Russia when the war with Germany broke out. They were taken prisoner by the Germans and sent too North Africa; later they were sent to France, then exchanged into a fighting unit when the Second Front opened, and taken prisoner by the British. All this time they had been able to speak to nobody but one another, and had no notion of what was happening or who was fighting whom.

"It would round the story off neatly if they were now conscripted into the British Army and sent to fight the Japanese, ending up somewhere in Central Asia, quite close to their native village, but still very much puzzled as to what it is all about."

All these men were being fought. Of how many men in the conscript armies of the world today would the active verb be more appropriate?

THE GOLDEN FEAST*

THIS is the book which, I am sure to the joy of all pacifists, won the thousand dollar M. R. L. Freshel Award of the Millenium Trust, New York.

As well as doing a vast number of other valuable things, Roy Walker is concerned in this book to suggest tentatively that not only in the Golden Age did the lion lie down with the lamb, but that he may do so again.

Experiments in a Moscow zoo point to this possibility, and it is pleasant to visualise the urge towards such experiments in the country of dialectical materialism. Non-pacifist Christian democracies please note!

The scope of this work "The Golden Feast,"* is immense. But I think there may be many who, having read it once, will turn back to it often as an anthology; and a very fine anthology it is. The author is never led aside from his theme, but he does allow himself a little licence in the course of his quotations. I was delighted to find the wonderful chorus from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides:

*To the strand of the daughters of the Sunset,
The Apple-Tree, the singing and the gold; . . .*

and wondered what he thought of the, to me, even more beautiful passage spoken by Phaedra in the same play:

*Oh, take me to the Mountain! Oh,
Past the great pines and through the wood,
Up where the laen hounds softly go,
A-whine for wild things' blood,
And madly flies the dappled roe . . .*

WINDOW WITH BLINDS

By CYRIL HUGHES

THERE are some journals whose fate it is never to be acquired honestly as the result of an ordinary financial transaction; not at any rate by us. One such is the *Illustrated London News*, which we have read from time to time in libraries, doctors' and dentists' waiting rooms, and other places where time is to be passed or nerves soothed.

The contents of such a journal, if the Editor knows his job, should not easily date. "Change and decay in all around I see" may be a suitable motto for a dentist's waiting room, but that is all the more reason why magazines which the dentist provides to relieve the minds of his waiting victims should concentrate on whatever steadfast and enduring things can be found in a world of mutability. For a magazine whose chief function is to act as a palliative, perspective is all.

Which is all by way of explanation of the fact that the issue of the *Illustrated News* which has attracted our attention is dated April 19, 1952. We have only just read it (we refuse to say where); but it contains at least one article which is dateless, timeless, and plum-full of that perspective which makes an aching wisdom tooth seem a matter of no importance.

The article is: "A Window on the World: The Place of Military History," by Cyril Falls, Chichele Professor of the History of War in the University of Oxford. In it, the author rightly protests against the tendency of the student of general history to neglect military history.

We agree with the author that this is so. Young people in this country leave school history: that England has won every decisive battle in history, and that England is the most peace loving country in the world.

We agree too that the prevailing ignorance of military history is especially deplorable in view of the fact that war is the most universal and enduring of human activities. To prove this Mr. Falls quotes that other great military historian, Mr. Churchill, who twenty-three years ago wrote: "The story of the human race is war. Except for brief and precarious intervals there has never been peace in the world"; and then added, presumably drawing on Cabinet sources not available to the general public: "and before history began murderous strife was universal and unending."

Nobody, at least, can say that Mr. Churchill has not contributed his own inspiring chapter to "the story of the human race." But, therein, we feel, lies the danger of military history. When a man like Mr. Churchill writes that the story of the human race is war, we can never be sure that he is stating a fact of the past or expressing a hope for the future. For if war did not already exist as a major human activity, the militarists would have to invent it, or seek another way of earning a living.

In fact the military historians have contributed quite considerably to the almost universal acceptance of war as a scheduled occupation. Their methods, though effective, are not always reliable. We recall that admirable, and unusually honest, military historian, Liddell Hart, writing of a French general in the 1914-1918 war, who dictated orders for the next day's attack. The attack was to start from a

position already held by the enemy. When this was pointed out to him, he shrugged his shoulders and replied: "C'est pour l'histoire."

We are sure that Mr. Falls would not approve of this type of military history. But we are sure, too, that he would agree that the main preoccupation of all of us should be, not with the fact that war is important, but with how to make it less important. This is possible, even in history. Take the case of France and England. Between 1066 and 1815, England and France were at war for 618 years, and at peace for only 131 years. These two peace loving countries spent six years of every seven during all those centuries at each other's throats. Statistics sufficiently weighty, one would think, to form the basis of a general rule of inevitability of Franco-British conflict. Yet today the only things that divide the two countries are the Channel, the import duties on French wines, and the activities of the currency spivs on the Boulevards.

We feel therefore that the activity of military historians should be directed towards writing "Finis" to their subject in their lifetimes. This, we realise, is asking a great deal of them.

For the ability to wage war is no longer regarded as a deplorable necessity which every nation must possess; it is actually a social necessity, a mark of caste, like white gloves and striped trousers. We quote no less a sartorial authority than the gentle Mr. Anthony Eden, who, arguing eloquently in the House of Commons recently in favour of the rearmament of Germany, said: "We have no choice if we are to lay the foundations of Europe but to try to bring Germany into the family of nations."

The historians, military and other, who train our politicians have indeed done their job well. Any waifs and strays seeking admission to the family of nations must first make sure that they can beat the day light out of their prospective bruvvers and sisters. This is a full-blooded drunk-every-night-dead-drunk-on-Sundays family, with no room for lilywhites. "Dear Adolph, come home. You were right. All is forgiven. Need your help to knock Uncle Joe's block off. Maw and Paw." When the moralists praise family life as the basis of our society, we know now what they mean.

Perhaps the military historians could help to disabuse many minds if they began to write real history. It is inconceivable that anyone below the rank of brass-hat who knew the full history of any one war would ever consent to take part in another. We invite Mr. Falls, and his colleagues, to put themselves out of a job by writing the true story of the last war, with a detailed analysis of what each participating nation gained from it. If military history is really to be "a window on the world" it is no good having the blinds down. Then let the results be distributed to the politicians, who have still much to learn from history.

As the Editor of the *Illustrated London News* appears to realise. For in the middle of Mr. Falls' article on the value of military history there is a photograph of a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. And the Editor has felt constrained to add the following footnote: "N.B. The photograph on this page does not illustrate Captain Falls' article."

Some peacemaking books and pamphlets

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* By Roy Walker. Rochliff, 18s.

PACIFISM AND SOME CHRISTIAN CENTRALITIES

THOSE who know Norman Goodall will not be surprised at the excellence of this pamphlet. I am not given to buying pamphlets; but this is definitely one to acquire. It is an extension of a paper that Mr. Goodall read a year ago to the Congregational Pacifist Crusade.

He became a pacifist as a young man towards the end of the first world war. Despite all discouragements he is still one today. (He is secretary of the International Missionary Council.) But he does not believe in offering pacifism as a practical political policy. There is no guarantee that it will work; the probability to begin with is that it will seem to fail. Therefore it is the heart of the Gospel that must be preached and lived. Pacifism will follow. But it cannot successfully be isolated from its religious context. The basis of pacifism (among other things) is the transcendent nature of God, the several remorseless uncompromising ethical demands of the Gospel on the individual, and the fact that Love (the Holy Spirit) is the only real power.

Whether in part this is saying at greater length and in different language what the Peace Pledge Union says more briefly I am not sure. The paper does not allude to the possibility that events may prove so tragic that it will become practical politics to embark specifically on a Christian pacifist crusade. But Mr. Goodall must surely challenge all pacifists when he says (by implication) that people will not today be converted to pacifism unless they believe in the power of love because they see it corporately tried out. P.H.F.

The duty of Nonconformity

Of Holy Disobedience, by A. J. Muste. Pendle Hall Publications, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 35 cents.

IN this pamphlet the author (who has himself carried his non-conformity to the point of refusing to pay taxes) discusses the problem of whether alternative service to conscription should be accepted. Although he refers directly to the American Civilian Service camps, all that he says, and says so well, applies to British alternative service schemes as well.

There is, however, as he suggests, a much wider field in which the problem may be considered. Whilst it is true that widespread and irresponsible law-breaking can create chaos, it is equally true that "non-conformity, Holy Disobedience, becomes a virtue and indeed a necessary and indispensable measure of spiritual self-preservation, in a day when the impulse to conform, to acquiesce, to go along, is the instrument which is used to subject men to totalitarian rule. . . ."

To create the impression of at least outward unanimity, the impression that there is no "real" opposition, is something for which all dictators and military leaders strive assiduously, and the more it seems that there is no opposition, the less worthwhile it seems to an even larger number of people to cherish even the thought of opposition. T.R.D.

S.A. to Z . . .

THE following item comes from the Bolton Evening News:

"A sergeant-major in camp with the Bolton Artillery boasts that he has come further than anybody else to do his Z-training—he received his notice to report for training in South Africa."

"Without hesitation he agreed to come to Britain, but what everybody wants to know is how the War Office reacts to a claim for travelling expenses which cannot amount to much less than £200."

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, CONWAY HALL.

All PN readers and friends invited.

'For this 13 months in jug I give thanks' MEETING THE WETBACKS

The writer, an American CO, was sentenced to three years imprisonment last year for refusing military service. After a short period in prison in Los Angeles he was transferred to No. 1 Prison Camp at Tucson, Arizona, where he worked most of the time in the hospital as a medical helper and also as interpreter. He was released on parole in February of this year.

NINETY per cent. of the population of the Tucson camp, is composed of citizens of Mexico who have illegally crossed the border into the United States. Their sentences, as compared with those of the American citizen inmates, are short.

Across the Rio Grande

Of course there were other prisoners in the camp, such as conscientious objectors, and the usual assortment of criminals.

I learned what are to me two important things about Mexican "Wetbacks." One was that I learned to develop a strong disdain for the term "wetback"; the other was that I learned how to love the Wetback.

What is a Wetback? To most Americans, I suppose, a Wetback is a tramp—a Mexican tramp. He is lazy, shiftless, dirty, ignorant, greasy, and above all hates to work. His nickname comes from the old practice of swimming across the Rio Grande River into the United States as a means of avoiding the U.S. Border Patrol.

But while in the prison camp I learnt much more as to the meanings behind the term "wetback."

This term signifies poverty—bare poverty. It is dirty, dusty clothes, it is creaking sandals with old inner tubes of rubber for soles. It is all your worldly goods packed into a dirty, broken-down suitcase. It signifies dirt and filth, it is lice in your hair, it is a body which hasn't been bathed in weeks, it is soiled, stinking underclothes. Wetback signifies disease. It is syphilis or a constant irritating cough, it is fevers, epilepsy, gonorrhoea, or body sores. The term means illiteracy, and the inability to remember where you were born or how old you are, or when your mother and father died, or how many brothers and sisters you had or have.

You work for any kind of wage, anywhere and at any time, and you don't care who cheats you nor of how much.

On the other hand, I found another side to the varied meanings of the term "wetback." It also signifies temperament: the ability to laugh at the ridiculous, to cry when tragedy strikes home and you are not there to do something about it, to become fiercely angry when someone makes fun of you because you haven't had a haircut in weeks.

It means simplicity and peace: the quiet farm lad who hadn't ever seen a building taller than his adobe (mud-brick) home but with whom it was such a refreshing delight to converse about planting corn, raising cows, and harvesting the crops.

Wetback means the small 17-year-old with a terribly broken forefinger who never let out a sound as you frantically tried to set the broken bone. It means the doddering old man with the weather-beaten face whom everyone called *tio* (uncle) and who kept us splitting our sides with laughter as he tried to dance the Mexican Hat Dance in the centre of the camp yard. The term further means the young revolutionary student—intelligent, with flashing eyes, and filled with ideas of peace, justice, and social righteousness for his people.

But they were personalities

I found myself dealing with personalities, not wetbacks. And those qualities of love, hatred, sorrow, fear—those problems of disease, illiteracy, and poverty were the same qualities and problems that can be found among my own people in the United States.

As I said before, I also learned to love these citizens of Mexico. A deep sense of fellowship was engendered out of this common confinement. As we began sharing each others' temperaments other fine qualities began to emerge. There was, for example, the profound respect they had for you because you bothered to learn their language (such was not the case with the guards, only three of whom spoke Spanish). This respect at once humbled me and made me see how so many of the open conflicts between the inmates and guards and among the inmates themselves were because of this language barrier.

There were the periods of comradeship

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WCI

with some fellow with whom you would not have a thing in common on the outside, but inside you shared a common status: you were both prisoners. The companionships were lasting and struck to the roots of sincerity. And as you bandaged up their injuries gave them routine pills, and argued for them with the "Doc" about their aches and pains, you got to know some of the psychological and social problems which beset many of these fellows.

"My family was starving"

Your own problems cropped up, too, and you found some problems in common.

"Ask this guy," said the parole officer, "why he came to the United States." You ask the boy why he came to the United States. He answers: "My family was starving. What could I do? I had to earn money somewhere."

And then you remember once when you, too, were out of a job, and you speculate on what you could have done had you not conveniently found a job . . .

These Mexican citizens and I never talked much about such things as peace and war. This may be due chiefly to the fact that we were all in such a situation that we could really do very little about it except talk.

This experience as a numbered man, however, gave me basic training in the learning of an important lesson: that peacemaking also involves the establishment of rapport, mutual trust and confidence between individuals—a pattern of behaviour in the practice of which many of us so-called peacemakers are notoriously poor.

For this 13-month experience in the "jug" I give thanks. Furthermore, I am convinced that no CO's time need be wasted while in prison. So very much depends simply upon how creatively he is willing and able to use the tremendous amount of time that is suddenly given to him by forced confinement.

Pacific Pacts and UN Charter

IN August and September, 1951, four Treaties were signed by the United States and certain Pacific countries. These Treaties have a number of common features, not only with each other, but with the North Atlantic Treaty.

All claim to be entered into under the provisions of Articles 51 and 52 of the United Nations Charter. All claim to be for collective defence against armed attack against any of their number. All profess to adhere to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Let us examine the provisions of Articles 51 and 52 of the Charter.

Article 51 acknowledges the "Inherent right of individual or collective self-defence . . . until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security . . . measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council . . . to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain and restore international peace and security."

Article 52 authorises "The existence of Regional arrangements and agencies provided that such arrangements and agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations . . ." and that these regional arrangements are subject to the right of the Security Council and General Assembly to deal with any such disputes.

Security Council ignored

No reference is made in these five pacts to the limited and temporary action these Articles authorise or to the specific retention of over-riding powers by the Security Council and the General Assembly to deal with all disputes. Neither is any reference made to Article 53 which stipulates "that no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council."

Nor is there any reference made to Article 54 which requires that the "Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security."

No provision has been made in any of these five Pacts to conform to the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter under which "every Treaty or International Agreement entered into by any member of the United Nations . . . shall as soon as possible, be registered with the Secretariat and be published by it, nor to Article 103 which states "that in the event of conflict between obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present Charter and obligations under any other International Agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail." These omissions are significant.

When we compare the appropriate

SPIRITUAL COMMUNISM SUMMER SCHOOL

SPIRITUAL Communism is based on the unity underlying all forms of life, and the brotherhood of man, said Swami Avyaktananda, in concluding his series of lectures to the Summer School of Spiritual Communism at Holborn Hall.

As we realise the common life underlying all individual lives, he continued, we envisage the classless society in which "the welfare of all is the welfare of each" and "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" become the guiding principles.

For only by a democracy which assimilates the constructive features of the Russian experiment, and at the same time the spiritual convictions of East and West can the conflicting ideologies of the world be reconciled. True democracy means a planned economic, social and political life; the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange; common rights and common franchise without legal or racial discrimination; a uniform salary system (although money might later be abolished); the abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords; and a government members of which could be recalled if they no longer truly represented the people. Most important of all, since all want peace, it would mean a war-free world.

To achieve true democracy throughout the world, he urged that the work of pacifist bodies should be co-ordinated, an international organisation formed, and a clear picture of the new order put to the people of the world. Evolution and revolution go hand in hand, and by constitutional change, by defensive and offensive non-violent resistance to the things which are evil, a peaceful revolution might be achieved "with all races, white, brown, yellow and black enjoying the same social status in a world community, and with men and women ennobled by a free conscience and inspired by the Common Life underlying all forms of life."

clauses of the United Nations Charter with these five Pacts it appears as if those who were responsible for bringing them into existence were conscious of the fact that these Pacts were a breach of their obligations under the Charter.

We are justified in concluding that they deliberately purposed to link these Pacts with the United Nations Charter with the hope of gaining the support of Parliaments and peoples of the world.

Aggression and "subversive Activities"

If we examine these Pacts with the statements of those responsible for them, we can see that they are not mutual defence Pacts against "aggression" in the generally accepted meaning of aggression. According to these statements "aggression" has been interpreted as any attempt to bring about social changes within signatory countries or any of their dependencies. Any such activity may be denounced as "aggression" and labelled "subversive" even though it is conducted in accordance with long established democratic procedures. For instance, any activities to improve standards of living; conditions of labour; to nationalise industry; to introduce socialism; to extend the franchise; to obtain self government; all fall under the category of "aggression" or of "subversive" activities, and under the terms of these Pacts in the name of defence can be suppressed. In short, defence as visualised in these Treaties can be said to be defence of existing ownership, privileges and controls.

Among other aims these Treaties seek to make available the total armed forces and resources of the signatory countries to act in concert for the alleged maintenance of international peace and security. It is not stated who is to decide that international peace and security have been menaced. Neither is there any reference to obligations to refer such matters to the Security Council.

Those responsible for these different Pacts rely largely on two things. They rely on the heart-felt desire of all countries for peace, and the common acceptance of the fact that the United Nations Charter is an instrument for maintaining peace. It is generally believed that any commitments alleged to conform to the purposes and principles of the Charter will assist in maintaining peace. Secondly they rely on the ignorance of the politicians and general public of all nations about the machinery of the Charter. It was these two factors which opened the way for the acceptance of these Treaties.

Under all these Pacts the signatory Governments have assumed the obligation to use their armed forces and resources to impose policies at home and abroad by coercion whenever called upon to do so. All this is in flagrant disregard of the United Nations Charter and its instruments which specifically provide for the independence and self government of all countries and peoples and which specifically forbid interference in the domestic matters of any other nation.

JESSIE M. G. STREET.

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STREET.

Pacifism and the Social Order

The following are extracts from a number of the letters which have reached us in response to the invitation contained in the paragraph "Pacifism and the Social Order" in the issue for August 15. The selection has been made with a view to the representation of the greatest variety of points of view.

AS a pacifist for well over fifty years I have seen it necessary to envisage a society which gives others the same liberty that we claim for ourselves—for instance, the liberty to refuse to obey an order or to believe to be objectionable. Also the liberty to refuse to give an order of which one does not approve. Experience in barracks and prisons has impressed on me the importance of this latter right. Governmental methods are an objectionable substitute for direct action—the faith to translate pacifist tenets into realities. It was suggested lately in Peace News that pacifists should avoid the use of rice because it is a primary requirement of impoverished eastern peoples. Tea also might be given up so that the natives of Ceylon and elsewhere might be able to grow more food of which they have so little.

B. J. OVER,

Weston Super Mare.

THE social organisation which I should welcome is one which would establish the EQUAL rights to life of all men by:

- (a) Collecting the Economic Rent of Land, to ensure that the community shall share in the value attaching to the natural resources—a value which the community has created, and to facilitate access to these resources.
- (b) Removing all taxes and restrictions on labour, leaving to a man the products of his labour which are his and his alone.
- (c) Repealing all laws which restrict trade between nations and prevent men from exchanging the products of their labour one with another, and thus help to lessen international tension and friction.
- (d) Abolishing conscription which takes away a man's right to himself. Its very existence proves that the majority of men do not wish to kill one another or the defenceless citizens of other countries.

P. BAKER,

Barnes.

CAPITALISM puts possessions, self interest and money in command—not deliberately but in its subtle essential working—it is the enthronement of economic rivalry and self seeking among owners and workers alike, and is the forerunner of nationalism and actual warfare. Socialism believes in a new system as both right and practical, which would substitute new values at the working centre, which would put need and justice and service first, which would be truly international, cutting at the roots of materialism and selfishness; that is the enthronement of love in every department of life.

It is precisely because the Labour government did not contract out of capitalism that it failed to outlaw war and armaments, that it was nationalistic, remained tied to America and high finance and was unable to evolve a realistic plan for dealing with the starving millions of the world or give a lead in solving problems such as those of Persia, Egypt, Malaya and Africa.

LESLIE LEWIS,

Ipswich.

AS a pacifist I believe in the sacredness of human life and the right of man to himself. If a man has a right to himself, it necessarily follows that he has a right to what he produces by his own labour, together with the right to exchange such products with his fellow-men. The rights of property are natural rights and are essential to the liberty of the individual.

Natural resources (products not made by man, i.e. sea, air, earth—termed "land" in the science of political economy) belong to no man exclusively but to the community equally. Therefore the rent that accrues from land should be paid into a common fund to be used for communal purposes. Land rent should be the only source of government revenue.

These two fundamental rights which are based on natural laws can be secured by government legislation, namely by a system of free trade and tax on land values all other taxes being removed.

BETTY WALDEN,

Chiswick.

IN my opinion, the positive constructive line can only come under heading "Christian Communism." This, in political terms can be summarised as:

1. Abolition of the private profit motive; private rent or divided income and private insurances;
2. Democratic control over all credit and money;
3. Socialisation of all land and products;
4. The necessity for every fit person to work for a wage; national treasures (works of art, jewels, etc.) to be held for the common good;
5. A great forward drive in health and welfare services;
6. Total disarmament, and the setting up of international courts for the settlement of national disputes;
7. The making compulsory of a specified auxiliary language;
8. Response to proved and trustworthy guidance from spiritual realms, following the recognition that death is a change of environment.

CONAN SHAW,

Orpington.

MANY pacifists whose position is based on Christian reasoning naturally find themselves in conflict with all current political creeds, Capitalist and Socialist alike.

They must be aware that the ideal society will never be reached until each unit which will go to making up that society undergoes some fundamental changes. To be a pacifist at all is to have made a start, to have undergone one small but important change in personal consciousness; not until there is a general drift towards the accordance and practice of the remaining Christian principles can the ideal society emerge.

Then, as the greatest of all pacifist writers foresaw, government will be reduced merely to the administrative functions of borough councils. And then, as

the greatest pacifist of all gave us hope to believe the total disappearance of self-interest might make even these unnecessary. DERMOT JEFFARES.

Kilmacanogue.

BASIC equality may be obtained by starting with first things first. Man is a land creature and cannot exist without this gift of nature. That all men have an equal right to life is universally agreed. The first task of any good society should be to ensure that man's equal right to land (without which his equal right to life becomes a myth) is established and preserved. The right of a man to himself, to his labour and to what he produces must be declared inalienable; likewise his freedom to trade and travel.

By dealing with these great and simple questions first and obtaining these basic rights we can achieve a society wherein man may enjoy the greatest freedom. In a society thus envisaged, the small and highly complex plans and methods of ameliorating the effects of injustice which occupy the minds of some of our leading men today to the complete bewilderment of the common man, would be superfluous.

CYRIL NELMS,

Thornton Heath.

YOUTH AND TOMORROW

THE For Youth Holiday Conference, "Youth and Tomorrow," held recently at Buxton, was attended by fifty young people of various denominations from Great Britain and Overseas.

The importance of personal relationships in building a community of friendship was stressed by Kenneth Barnes, Headmaster of Wenington School, and also by the Rev. Alfred Jowett of Sheffield, who led a discussion on Industry. There was need to inculcate a sense of purpose in service to the wider community, said Mr. Jowett, so that even the most menial task would be felt to have some value.

Dr. Harold Miller, a scientist engaged in medical research, led discussions on "Science—for Peace or War?" He said that in order that scientific effort might not be prostituted for war purposes, the community must come to the position when war was no longer accepted as a legitimate method of settling disputes. Similarly a vital community concern in meeting the needs of the under-developed areas of the world would make possible an adequate effort by scientists and governments to solve this major problem.

Hugh Faulkner, Organising Secretary of the For, spoke of his 3-week visit to the Soviet Union in July. He was impressed by the sense of purpose in the building of their Society which was apparent everywhere. He said that he and the Rev. Clifford Macquire had had opportunities for discussion with Christians and other leaders of Soviet life. Clearly the Soviet people had a real desire for peace, but many of their policies, like those of the West, could not be regarded as likely to create an atmosphere for true peacemaking.

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BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE

FROM

ASIAN CONGRESS FOR WORLD FEDERATION

HITHERTO all international gatherings organised by the "World Movement for World Federal Government" have been held in Europe. The "Union for World Federal Government" (Japanese section of the "World Movement") and the Japanese Parliamentary Committee for World Federation have now sponsored an Asian Congress for World Federation, to be held at Hiroshima from November 3-6, 1952. The purpose of the congress is to stimulate the development of World Government movements in other Asiatic countries, and to contribute towards mutual understanding and cooperation among the peoples of those countries. Lord Boyd Orr, ex-President of the "World Movement," will be present.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB. Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

THE ANNUAL General Meeting of Pax will be held at 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, on September 6 at 2.30 p.m. Address by Rev. Conrad Pepler, O.P. Modern War and the Traditions of Peace. All welcome.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, August 29

EUTHAM: 8 p.m. Progress Hall, Admiral Seymour Rd. Brains Trust on "Peace and War" pacifist, political, independent and youth points of view. Woolwich Peace Council.

Saturday, August 30

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. Hunter St. (behind Walker Art Gallery). PPU N.W. Area Mtg. business; Weekend Conference September 27-28 and delegation to Labour Party Conference at Morecambe September 28.

Sunday, August 31

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Open-air mtg. Jack Sutherland. PPU.

Thursday, September 4

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Mr. Ratcliff on "The Church and War." PPU.
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincolns Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Rev. Patrick Figgis. PPU.

Friday, September 5

HULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St. "Meet Connie Jones." An account of her work in consolidating groups and forming new ones. Time for discussion. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Intercession Service for Peace. The Rev. Francis Noble.

THIS MEANS YOU

The meetings announced in "Notes for your diary" are not confined to members of the organisations sponsoring them nor to pacifists. They are open to all. Some of the meetings are in large halls, some in small rooms in private houses; they are organised by groups of people who want the support of those concerned with the preservation of peace. YOU will be made welcome.

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor St. (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

Sunday, September 7

LONDON, N.W.11: 2.30 p.m. King Alfred School, nr. Golders Grn. Underground: PPU London Area Garden Party; cricket match, side shows, celebrity stall, refreshments; admission 1s, children free.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Speakers' Corner. Open-air mtg. Robert Horniman. PPU.

MANCHESTER: United Peace Procession. Assemble Ardwick Green, 2 p.m., march off 2.30, arrive Platt Fields 3.30 for open-air meeting. Speaker: Stuart Morris; offers of help with posters and leaflets to Fred Barton, Friends' Mtg. Ho. Mount St., Manchester. United Peace Fellowship.

Thursday, September 11

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. "The Medical Association for the Prevention of War." PPU.
LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincolns Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Rev. Patrick Figgis. PPU.

Saturday, September 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. Business mtg. PPU Religion Commission; visitors welcome.

MANCHESTER: Afternoon peace poster parade outside Free Trade Hall, where Mr. Attlee is to address a Labour Party meeting; offers of help to Fred Barton, Friends' Mtg. Ho. Mount St., Manchester. United Peace Fellowship.

Sunday, September 14

PRESTON: 2.45 p.m. Central Labour Hall, Lancaster Rd. Inauguration of N.W. Regional Group, Labour Pacifist Fellowship. All interested persons welcome.

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OFF TO CHINA...

BY the time Peace News reaches its readers this week I hope to be in China.

It is a long way from Prestwick to Peking and I am travelling all the way by air via Prague and Moscow and then over Siberia and Mongolia, a journey which will take about five days.

We are four Labour MP's, Sidney Silverman, Desmond Donnelly, Geoffrey Bing and myself, a number of University professors, doctors, trade unionists and others who during the last few years have been doing what we could to work for better relationships between this country and China, and trying to advocate policies which will end the war in Korea and prevent the large scale all-out war with China, which would be a disaster for the Chinese and ourselves.

*

No doubt we will be criticised for going, and meet with the usual accusation that we are Communists and fellow travellers and what not. That was what happened when we went to the Moscow Economic Conference. But I have no regrets at having gone to Moscow and discussed the economic problems of the world with the people who gathered there.

Indeed our own economic position has steadily worsened since then and nearly everything that was said in Moscow about the need for developing trade relationships between East and West has been more than justified.

What is more, one of the important recommendations of the Moscow Economic Conference that we should all in our own countries advocate that a World Economic Conference under the auspices of the United Nations Organisation should be called has now become the official policy of the Labour Party.

One of the strongest cases made for a World Economic Conference under the auspices of UNO was recently made independently by Mr. Hugh Gaitskell in an address in the United States.

Nobody can prophesy dogmatically whether we are going to drift into the Third World War or not, but if it is averted it will be as a result of compromise between the East and the West, come to by the governments of all countries realising that war in the atom age would be a catastrophe for all.

*

That is why it is important to rally public opinion in every country in favour of the methods of peaceful negotiation. And the more people who can be brought together to meet each other from Communist and non-Communist countries the more hope there is that reason may prevail.

I do not think that there are many people in Britain who want to go to war with China. There are probably more in America where there is a school that argues that an all-out bombing attack on China, and the bombardment and blockade of the Chinese ports would be the way to bring the Korean war to a conclusion.

At one critical stage in the Korean conflict Mr. Attlee, then Prime Minister in the Labour Government, flew over to Washington and made it quite clear that Britain was

not prepared to back any gamble of this kind.

Mr. Churchill, too, although he is not so decided in his policy has more than once indicated that he would regard a war with China as the wrong war, at the wrong time, in the wrong place.

*

He has not been too keen about the war in Korea, and would prefer that we should not become embroiled in a war in the Far East.

But if we are not to drift into a hideous war with China what can be done to prevent it? That is one of the things that I want to find out.

We know that national opinion in China is embittered against the West as a result of Korea. Whether we like it or not they see Korea as an intervention of the West in the affairs of Asia; and the large scale bombing, the threat to the towns near the Yalu River, and the accusations about bacteriological warfare have all made a profound impression in the Far East.

Millions of people in China believe that this is all a prelude to the invasion of the Chinese mainland by the forces of Chiang Kai shek and of another possible invasion by a Japan trained and armed by the West.

There is no reason for believing that the Chinese Communist government wishes to precipitate a war, for they have not moved against Hong Kong.

*

Ought we not then to do all that rests in our power to make it clear to the Chinese that there is a public opinion in Britain that does not believe in the atom bombing of China, that wishes to end the war in Korea, and is opposed to any attempt to carry out a war of intervention by Western imperialism and to any crusade against Communism in China.

The usual criticism of the Communist countries is that they have erected an iron curtain between themselves and the rest of the world.

But when they ask people from Britain who are not hostile to them to come to see what is going on, why should we refuse?

After all it is immensely important that we in Britain should have some idea of what is taking place in China. That is why I have accepted the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs to visit Peking and other places in China. The more coming and going there is between us the better. I have no fixed opinions about China except that I don't want to see a war with the Chinese and I want to see an end to the war in Korea.

So I am going to see for myself. I will let Peace News readers have some impressions when I return.

'Defence without arms'

IN assessing the practicability of non-violent resistance we cannot avoid being obsessed by fears of its helplessness when pitted against the fiendish destructive power of modern armies. "All very well to point to Gandhi's success in face to face contacts with the relatively humane British Raj, but what if his followers had had to face a Panzer division, an atom bomb?"

The illuminating instances of non-violence in South Africa and India described in *Defence Without Arms*, by Dorothy Glaister (3d. PN Publications Dept.) are bound to lead on to such questions and it is right that they should. As Dorothy Glaister points out, in the non-violence campaigns conducted by Gandhi the psychological initiative was on the side of the Satyagrahis. But it must be remembered first that the peculiar conditions of the Indian struggle gave the initiative into their hands for the Satyagrahis, were, if one can use the phrase, the non-violent aggressors.

Secondly they were ranged against men, who however heavily armed, were still not mere button pressers or machine minders, still not automata morally neutered by the immense destructive force at their disposal.

The behaviour of Wolves

The psychological mechanism associated with non-violent resistance is indeed powerful. There is a startling and illuminating analysis given of it in the final chapter of King Solomon's Ring, in which the author shows how he learned from the behaviour of wolves which, when defeated, expose their necks to their conquerors, the meaning of Christ's injunction to turn the other cheek.

We should turn it, he writes, not in the hope of being struck again (how this illuminates the corrupt masochism of much of our Pacifist thinking) but because through this expression of trust in the conscience and moral feeling of the other, we hope to prevent him from striking.

Yet how can this old-new force be brought to bear on the cruel welter of modern mass movements and international brigandage? While not sparing ourselves in efforts of positive peace-making, we must be ready for the likelihood of these efforts failing to halt the march of international

Indiscriminate defence

"When the last war ended the average man had come to regard war in modern terms as less a matter of tactics and strategy than of massive and almost indiscriminate destruction. Competition in destruction seems likely to remain a characteristic of war, yet there are developments which promise some chance of effective defence. . . . What is needed is blast at close quarters to the atom bomb carrier; and a guided missile carrying a fair load of high explosive is the answer. . . . In many respects the success of the guided missile will probably depend upon the skill and experience of the RAF to give it full operational efficiency."—Mr. E. Colston Shepherd, Air Correspondent, Sunday Times, August 24, 1952.

IN Hyde Park last Sunday, a young man informed me with great indignation, that British armaments, including the atom bomb, were for defence and defence only. Later an elderly woman, who had not heard the young man's remarks, told me, with an indignation equal to his, that Russia wanted peace, and was arming only for defence.

There can be no doubt that the words used about war and peace have largely lost their original meanings. These two questions represent roughly the average reaction of the Russian sympathiser or Communist, and the ordinary patriotic Britisher to any suggestion of disarmament.

Yet both of them, from their opposite standpoints, speak and think of defence in a completely different sense from the Sunday Times contributor, Mr. Colston Shepherd. He is seriously offering for consideration the views of experts on the possibility of defending towns and cities, factories, farms, and human beings from the weapons with which another world war will be fought.

His approach to the question is one which conceives defence as a resistance against atomic attack, and takes no account of reasons for the attack, or the rights and wrongs of the use of any particular weapon. It is significant that he cannot pronounce that the experts have found any way to prevent bombers, which will carry the means of mass destruction, from penetrating the defences of any frontiers today.

*

Indiscriminate devastation is the war weapon of today, and there is, in fact, no defence against it; Governments cannot protect their nationals, they can only attack other nationals with the same weapons and in the same way.

The average citizen accepts the policy of great armaments and weapons of mass annihilation, not because he believes that they can in fact save his life in war, but because he likes to believe that there will be no war on account of the fear engendered by such weapons in other countries if they are possessed in a large enough quantity.

He bases all his hopes on this attempt to terrify the enemy, and often supports his

argument with the outworn one that gas was not used for fear of retaliation, failing to see that war itself is a process based entirely upon retaliation, and that all the millions of gallons of poison gas possessed by both sides failed to prevent war. Retaliation is the modern equivalent of the old conception of defence.

The sea was once Britain's surest defence against invasion; it was too difficult to land troops on treacherous sandy beaches, steep cliffs and rocky shores. But now with the help of jet planes, faster-than-sound rockets, and atom bombs, a country can be battered into surrender without invasion at all.

*

The majority of people in this country, who continued until recently, to think in terms of "drawing the sword," "backs to the wall" and "fighting for defence and one's home" are being forced, through the popularising of science, and the publicity given to all kinds of theories in regard to the development of war weapons, to see the dangerous reality that lies in the actual use of such "defences."

It is partly because the immense gap between the old method of defence, and the new one of annihilating attack, in all its atomic vileness is beginning to be apparent to the public, that the cry "Peace" is so attractive; the cry "Disarm" still holds terrors for those imprisoned in the fear of vulnerability to wanton attack.

The human race is faced with total death, and it rather naturally turns its head aside from the stark and terrifying spectacle. Each step, therefore, in the building up of public conscience against war has to be made in accordance with what the public mind can accept.

The pacifist rampart against war is built upon the firm and unassailable foundation of the individual conviction of its evil, and personal resistance to its demands; that, and that alone is the real defence against war, and the positive path to peace.

● Behind the news

(Continued from page two)

kettle black. Now the deadlock has been narrowed down to the question of the future of prisoners of war this matter should be regarded as outside the province of the negotiators who were appointed to decide on the military requirements for an armistice. This is a political matter not within the power of the conference at Panmunjom to solve. We are glad to see a renewal of concern among many delegates to the UN. Unless there can be agreement for an immediate armistice, on the terms already accepted by both sides and on the understanding that the question of the future of P.O.W.'s will come within the terms of the peace treaty itself, it will be essential that there should be a full dress debate on the whole Korean problem when the Assembly next meets.

H. J. Massingham

H. J. MASSINGHAM has been famous in journalism and for his love of the land for many years. He was never a pacifist but he was an unrelenting advocate of the right use of the land, of husbandry, and of the encouragement of rural crafts. All of these things are basic to the good and whole, therefore wholesome, life, which is the essential to the building of a truly peaceful society.

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PPU London Area

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(near Golders Green Station)

SUNDAY, 7th SEPTEMBER
2.30 p.m.

CRICKET MATCH, Community Dancing,
Sports for children and adults. Sideshows.
Celebrity Bookstall.

TEAS AND
REFRESHMENTS

ADMISSION
(Children Free) 1/-

GIVE THE DEAN A HEARING

EMPRESS HALL,
— EARLS COURT —

Sunday, September 14, 6.30 p.m.

The Dean of Canterbury will speak
with THE DUKE OF BEDFORD
and other speakers in support

Tickets (1 guinea, 10s. 6d. 5s. 2s. 6d.)
from

The Vestry, 25 Old Gloucester Street,
Southampton Row, London, W.C.1

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX QUARTERLY
MEETING PEACE COMMITTEE

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS CONFERENCE

Men and Women 16—18 years
Saturday, 13th September, 2.30 p.m.
Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

Discussion of queries and perplexities re
National Service Act and pacifism.

KINDLY SEND POSTCARD IF INTENDING
TO BE PRESENT